

"LAPSES."

Officers of Int'l Cigarmakers' Union at Work to Save their Jobs.

SECRET OF THEIR BROADNESS

Recent Happenings in the Int'l Cigarmakers' Union Illustrate the Development of a "Pure and Simple" Organization in the Hands of Fakirs—The "Get Rich Quick" Plan of Swindle, Applied to Labor, Leads More Rapidly than Anywhere Else to Bankruptcy—In this Instance It Leads Also to Crooked Schemes.

More than once we have been asked the question: "Why is it that the pure and simple trade unionist leader can't see the folly of his theory that the union must be broad?" The present conduct of the officers of the International Cigarmakers' Union furnishes a clear explanation, that it will be well for the rank and file of that and all other unions to consider carefully.

Within the last month Mr. Strasser, the International Union's financier, has faked up a large deficit against two large unions, one in Philadelphia and one in Detroit; and more such "deficits" are to be manufactured. The plan is to suspend these unions, and the hope is that the members will not avail themselves of their right to immediate admission in some non-suspended union, and, by so neglecting to do, loose their claim upon death and other benefits. In other words, the officers of the International Union are trying to escape bankruptcy and to save their own jobs (salaries) by creating what insurance companies depend upon for their "prosperity," and what they call "lapses."

The International Union had been struggling along with a small membership, too small to suit the "business interests" of the leaders, and, of course, officers. These then hit upon the plan of inveigling cigarmakers into the union upon the plan of those wild cat concerns that are known as "Get Rich Quickly," that gather a big fund, furnishing the schemers with a fine living while the thing lasts, and that then collapse, leaving only ruin behind. These leaders established a death benefit feature, whereby every one who had been a member in good standing fifteen years was promised a death benefit of \$550. The bait worked admirably—but, as will appear, only for a time. The bulk of the present membership, over 27,000, was gained after that provision was enacted, and between 1880-1884.

The members trooped in to cover their backs against accident, upon the "half a loaf is better than none" principle. A fifteen-year member could, after paying only about \$200 in dues, become entitled to more than double the amount if he died. It is during that period that the International leaders enjoyed their greatest "glory," and well it is to mark what the basis of that "glory" was: Not a propaganda to enlighten the wage-workers, and enable them to emancipate themselves, but a filthy fraud of early bourgeoisie—the "Get Rich Quickly" insurance trap.

Insurance companies—whether of the "Get Rich Quickly" stripe or not—are exposed to bankruptcy from two sources: First—from the extravagance of their officers. Second—from a failure to recruit new policy holders.

If the officers give themselves big salaries and hire numerous clerks, the premiums are eaten up; if, besides that, no new policy holders, or not enough of them, are roped in, then the sap of the whole concern dries up. The result is that when payments become due there are no funds to pay them with. This fatality is either staved off or prevented with insurance companies by the "lapses." People who have paid their premiums for a while and then discontinue them, forfeit all future rights. The money they have paid in are clear gain; these people are called "lapses." The labor fakirs, who have officered the International Cigarmakers' Union, are in the condition of a bankrupt insurance company, and what they are now doing is to ease the ship by manufacturing "lapses."

The International Union started with one weakness more than the two from which danger threatens insurance concerns. Besides the weakness of the expensiveness of administration, and that of the failure to recruit new members, the International Union was exposed to a third danger; that of its funds being eaten up by "out of work benefits." This source of danger, that is helping on its downfall, may be called the Nemesis of its leaders. They were sailing under pretences that were doubly false. They were trying to play at "business" in the insurance line, and at the same time they tried to sail under the colors of a "labor organization." They imagined that the latter would add strength to them; on the contrary, it helped to heat the water in which they are now boiling. In order to keep up the appearance of being a labor organization, "out of

AN APPEAL

To the Workers of Rockville, Conn., to Stand up as Men.

To the Workingmen of Rockville:

Fellow Toilers:—We hereby appeal to you to consider the pitiable plight in which you have been during the last four years, and to decide whether you mean to continue vegetating in this way, and thus to sink in ever deeper misery, until you are at last undone. The lot of the textile workers is certainly not an enviable one; their condition gets ever worse instead of experiencing any improvement. The textile worker has ever been the worst off among the proletarians; and yet, during the last year he has sunk still lower.

Our wages barely average \$5 a week, and then we may feel happy that we have work at all. There is not one of us weavers but could tell a tale of how we are made the subjects of the chicanery of the superintendent, sometimes without even giving a ground for such treatment; other times by justifying wrong with false reasons.

The sort of life we have had to lead of late below the dignity of man. We and our poor children have had to suffer want. Though we have produced magnificent fabrics, rags is all we can wear.

The relation between us workers and the bosses becomes ever more unfavorable to us. Production multiplies ever more, and hand in hand with that consumption among the workers declines with a declining wage.

The capitalists have organized themselves well to defy the just demands of the workers. They have also the public powers in their hands, and thus they are armed against us. They furthermore control almost the whole press, and render it subservient to their will by means of their wealth; thereby they are all the better able to protect their privileges, to ignore the misery of the workers or prevent its publication; to instigate national hatred between the workers of various nationalities, to deceive the masses with expectations of better times, and generally to nurse ignorance among the people.

Are you willing longer to be put off from year to year with empty promises, and to be dragged from one political party of your exploiters to the other, yourselves being always the losers who ever else may win? Are you not yet tired of living such a life? Ever used for cat's paw to pull the chestnuts from the fire for your fleecers? Take an example of your brothers in France, Germany, Belgium and other countries, who have realized their true condition, and themselves shaped their own political party, that is marching with giant strides to victory.

You must certainly understand by this time that there is nothing for you to hope from the old parties, and that, with them, you are but their voting cattle. Do as is done elsewhere, and organize yourselves in the Socialist Labor party. There is no salvation for you outside of yourselves. God helps those who help themselves.

We must organize and join the Socialist Labor party. Only on that path can we hope ever to live life fit for human beings.

We appeal to you, workers of Rockville, to recognize the fact that you must depend upon yourselves for freedom. To this end join the S. L. P.

We have in this city an English-speaking Section of the party. We urge you to join us and assist us in freeing ourselves. Be men and do your utmost to bring on the day when, freed from the yoke of wage slavery, we may all enjoy the pleasure and dignity of life.

All those who desire to join are requested to communicate with Chas. Backoffer, 39 Ward street, Rockville.

By order of the Socialist Labor party, Section Rockville, Conn.

SOCIALISM IN THE ARMY.

Interesting Facts About How the Belgian Army is Being Riddled.

The Belgian capitalist press is greatly alarmed at the discovery that has been made of the way the army is honeycombed with Socialism. Sudden orders have been issued changing the bivouacs of several regiments, especially the 3d Infantry chasseurs, located in Beverloo; the 3d regiment of the line, quartered at Ives and Ostende, and the 10th regiment of the line in Arlon. All the three are considered unsafe.

But that is the least of the trouble. The Minister of War has received information that points to the existence of a widespread movement all over the army.

It has been ascertained that there are regular Socialist clubs of soldiers in all the barracks. These clubs are thoroughly organized. They have their regular officers, and collect and receive money to carry on the propaganda.

In one of the regiments located in Antwerp, a Socialist club was formed, in which a majority of the soldiers were enlisted. Just so soon as the discovery was made a rigid investigation was ordered, and seventeen soldiers and corporals were put under arrest.

It has been ascertained that the soldiers who join these clubs pledge themselves to fulfil their military duties with scrupulous zeal so as to avoid all danger of punishment. They also pledge themselves to refuse to obey the order to fire in cases of strikes or when marched against popular gatherings, to mutually assist one another, to seek to convert their fellow soldiers, and in this way to avoid violence and strife.

It is not surprising that the ruling class of Belgium feels nervous. From below, the healthy uprising of the masses threatens to drown them; from above, disgrace is thrown upon them by the dissoluteness of the libertine, who is their king, and whose latest escapades were conducted with the American heiress, Clara Ward, alias Princess de Chimay, alias Madame Rigo. But the Belgian ruling class is not alone in its distress at present, and soon it will have the full company of its like.

SOCIAL CONTRASTS

Which We Are Striving to Wipe Out

LOOK AT THIS PICTURE,

Bulletin of Luxury!

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 25.—Mr. and Mrs. Brice welcomed the new year with the same splendid hospitality which they have displayed in past social events.

The dinner and cotillion given by them was not only the largest and most brilliant function of the evening, but to many of the debutante guests the occasion was invested with an added pleasure, because of its being a realization of that most eagerly anticipated of all girlish delights, a first ball.

The 150 guests entered on Sixteenth street, through an awning-covered garden path, by way of an inclosed piazza that was draped with beautiful tapestries and laid with stripes and squares of rare Oriental carpeting, too queer and beautiful to be classed as rugs.

The magnificent rooms were fragrant with roses, and at every point were groups of tall, gracefully branching palms and clusters of orchids massed in quaint and lovely jardinières.

Almost every country that belts the globe contributed some treasure toward the furnishing of the beautiful home of Senator Brice. Mrs. Brice was superbly handsome in cream brocaded satin, flowered with pink roses and delicate sprays of green. A decollete bodice was veiled with point lace, sprinkled with diamonds, and the same jewels flashed on her neck and arms. On each shoulder were clusters of full blown blush roses, and the instep of her white slippers were crusted with arabesques of gold.

The decorations of each of the small tables scattered throughout the two dining halls were tall glasses of pink carnations and white wax candles, shaded with frills of green crepe under frames of filigree silver, and standing in frosted silver sticks.

The Bradley Martin ball costume is absorbing the minds of society to the exclusion of any other subject. The costumers and wigmasters have been besieged, and Herman, Horner and other designers have their books filled with orders.

As the three epochs in costume are to be fully represented, most of those chosen are of theearls of the English kings in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Mrs. Bradley Martin herself is to represent one of the Queens of the early seventeenth century, and her gown, a description of which has been hinted at, is to be of unparalleled magnificence. The famous quadrilles of each epoch will be undertaken by Mrs. John Jacob Astor for the court of Louis XVI., Mrs. Ogden Mills for the directoire, and Mrs. Bronson, with a number of debutantes, for the days of the regency between Louis XIV. and Louis XV.

Mrs. Bradley Martin and a retinue will receive the guests in the Louis Seize ball-room. Each guest will be announced in a loud tone by lackeys, who will not only give the guests' names, but the character they represent. This is very English, and was an innovation at Lady Brooke, Countess of Warwick's ball last year. As soon as the principal guests have assembled the grand quadrille of honor will be formed, with Mrs. Bradley Martin, Mrs. Astor, Mrs. Ogden Mills, Mrs. Gerry and others. Then the various costume quadrilles will be danced, and the ball will be formally opened. There will be no cotillon.

Among the new costumes recently ordered, Miss Edith Sands and Schieffelin Stebbins will go as Incroyables. Miss Sands' gown will be white and gold, and Mr. Stebbins will be an Incroyable to the letter, with long hair, high stock and cocked hat.

Messrs. A. H. and J. W. Barney will wear Francis I. costumes designed by Horner. The costume has a doublet and hose of rich satin and a bolero cape of dark velvet, with a peaked cap of the same material, with a long white plume.

H. W. Bull and F. C. Bishop will go as Henry III. courtiers. They will also wear doublet and hose, with jackets fitting into the waist of pale green. The stockings are pink and the capes are black velvet, bordered with gold and lined with pink. The hats are shirred and puffed, of black velvet with pink, white and green pompons, with broad ruffs about the neck. These courtiers will carry swords.

Henry Winthrop will wear a Charles II. costume of green velvet and lace, with buff boots and wide lace collar. Mr. Winthrop will wear no hat, but a long wig with curls.

Mrs. Charles Childs will represent Marie Antoinette, and her costume will be white and pink satin, with powdered hair and a high hat of the time.

Mrs. Oelrichs will be a Dutch merchant in sober black, and Edward de Peyster Livingston will wear the garb of one of his ancestors. The Misses de Peyster will wear becoming Dutch costumes of the last century. Mrs. Oakley Rhinelander, Mrs. Stuyvesant Fish, Miss Brice and Mrs. Kernochan are all going as Marie Antoinettes after the Le Brun painting. Mrs. Philip Rhinelander will be a court dame of the time of Louis XV. in a superb gown of pink and gold.

A number of the Century Club members will personate the foremost authors of the epoch, and will come in procession, beginning with Shakespeare and including rare Ben Jonson, Defoe, Milton, Racine, Voltaire, snuffy Dr. Johnson, Oliver Goldsmith and Addison. These costumes have been ordered, but the identity of the wearers is yet a secret.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 31.—Unless money is forthcoming from private sources the police department will be compelled to discontinue extending assistance to the poor.

The relief fund is entirely exhausted.

Chief Clerk Richard Sylvester says,

and there are no means in view for continuing the quick work in emergency cases.

THE FAMINE IN INDIA.

What Has Caused it, Who has Caused it, and What it Portends.

PITTSBURG, PA., Feb. 3.—The public press is filled with accounts of a terrible famine and pestilence in British India. One would naturally suppose in these days of enormously increased productive powers, rapid transit, quick communication, and our knowledge of scientific sanitation, that, in the absence of war, such a thing as famine on a large scale could not occur. And yet it does. For every effect there must be a cause; and the world has a right to know what has caused this state of affairs in British India.

In the minds of many people there is a strongly defined suspicion that the cause of the trouble in British India can be traced to the English Government and its policy in India. One fact that strongly points that way is the disposition of certain portions of the public press to evade or hide the question of cause or responsibility; and yet this is the very point on which the people of the world want information, and they have a right to such information.

British India is a part of the possessions of the British Empire. It is governed by England, not through the laws of natural affinity but by conquest and subjugation. The people of India differ from the English in language, race, creed, customs and traditions; there is little in common between the governing race and the governed; it necessarily follows then that English domination is peculiarly unnatural and galling to the natives of India, and for these reasons and many others there can be no good and sufficient reason given for English supremacy in India. England has used India solely for purposes of robbery and exploitation, to such a degree that the people of India are among the poorest and most miserable of the world. Under the specious plea of "civilizing" and "christianizing" these people, England has robbed the people of India of their land and their products. England so oppresses and plunders these people that they can never accumulate a surplus against a time of need. The present famine in India and the pestilence that flows from it are directly traceable to the robber policy of the English Government.

"Since the election," said Lane, a rather intelligent fellow, "our business has been at a lower ebb than ever before in my recollection. The outlook is gloomy indeed for men of our trade."

With one seventeen-year-old daughter lying dead in the house and with six other children sitting about her in her misery, Mrs. Graf, a Brooklyn widow who has had a terrible struggle with poverty for two years past, is in dire distress.

Mrs. Graf and her children live at No. 1225 Greene avenue. While the husband lived the family managed to get along, but his wages were too low to lay by anything. Since his death his widow struggled to keep a roof over her family's heads by going out to work, and her two eldest daughters, one of whom is now dead, have also labored to add a little something towards the family support.

The daughter, Clara, who was seven years old, had steady employment in the family of a neighbor. The pay was small, but it was sufficient to pay the rent of the humble apartments in which the Grabs lived.

In spite of the fact that she was suffering intensely from rheumatism, she kept at her work until about a week ago, when she was obliged to take to her bed. Her condition grew worse, and she died.

Mrs. Graf was almost frantic and could not be consoled by the comforting words of the friends who called upon her. Her greatest grief was that she had no money enough to bury her daughter. She declared that she would go crazy if her child had to be buried at public expense.

"Nor have I got even a crust of bread to give any one of my other five children," she cried. "Even Louisa, my oldest girl, lost her work two weeks ago, and now there is not a penny coming into the family."

The neighbors all gave the Grabs the reputation of being a deserving family. They say the mother and the two eldest daughters have worked bravely to keep the home together, and are honest, God-fearing people. None of the other children are old enough to work. Clarence, a boy of eight, is next in age to Clara, the daughter who is dead. The others are aged six, four and two.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 29.—Martha Lee, nearly eighty years of age, was arraigned for vagrancy on complaint of Policeman Burlingame, who said she had been making a nuisance of herself on his beat, begging from different people.

"I think she is a little off, your honor," said Burlingame, "but she is harmless."

"Martha," said his honor, "have you a home?"

Martha, gaunt and dark, felt her hair front of wavy bangs as she said:

"De good Lawd knows I has," she replied; "an' I has been wukin' fo' fifty years ter keep soul an' body togeader, an' ain't neber been widout a roof; but I had ter ask fer munny ter git my rent paid."

"That is wrong, Martha," said the court; "you should not beg in such a manner. There are proper places to apply for help."

"I ain't no vagrant," protested the old woman. "All de perlicement knows me."

"Now, whom do you know?" asked the judge.

The woman turned in the stand and looked over the array of policemen sitting near her.

"Why, dere's Lootient Kelly," she said, pointing to the majestic guardian spirit of the Sixth precinct. "I knowed him when he was a handsome man."

The lieutenant blushed as his honor said: "Martha, I regret that you have the bad taste to speak in the past tense."

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THE OUTLOOK

For the Working Class Under Maj. McKinley and Company.

INCREASED HARSHIPS.

THE PEOPLE.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential).....	2,065
In 1890.....	13,321
In 1892 (Presidential).....	21,157
In 1894.....	33,133
In 1896 (Presidential).....	36,563

From the point of view of national well-being, if from no other, it can not be denied that the way in which workingmen, women and children are prematurely consumed by capitalism keeps the State in permanent bankruptcy of human forces. This physiologic bankruptcy is the worst of all bankruptcies, and spreads from one industrial center to the other. This is the great modern epidemic. The human race is being drained, and the process is all the more criminal because it is unnecessary. Production is now so plentiful, that the great problem of this century is not how to produce enough to satisfy the needs of all, but how to sell all the goods that the factories yield.

Jules Guesde.

A HINT TO SENATOR LEXOW.

With a great beating of drums, the Republican Legislature at Albany has appointed a committee to investigate the Trusts, with Senator Lexow as its chairman. With still greater beating of drums, the committee started to work last week, and, with the aid of the sensational press, has been keeping up a great clatter.

The Sugar Trust was first "araigned." The Havemeyers and the lobbyist Searies were put upon the stand. The committee frowned upon them; questions, intended to be considered scathing, were put; the witnesses went through the form of seeming cornered and rattled; the committee "brought out" revelations in sight of which both it and the witnesses organized themselves melodramatic tableaus—the one triumphant, the other crushed. The spectacular show was throughout well conducted. The farce has been a complete and immediate success for the papers, and is expected to be an equal success for the politicians next fall.

In the meantime, what about the interests of the working class, which this "investigation" was heralded to be intended to promote? So far only such facts have been extracted as show that the middle class is being crushed down by these gigantic corporations named Trusts. But no investigating committees were needed for that. The fact was known before, and even the Trusts did not dare to deny it. On the contrary, they admitted the fact and proved its beneficence by pointing at the reduced prices which they brought about. The question to investigate was, How does the working class fare under the process of Trustification. Reduced prices are of no benefit but to those who do not suffer of reduced wages. The point that the working class is interested in is a point that has not yet been brought out by the committee through any question put by them to the Trust magnates. It is on this head we make free to give a hint or two to Senator Lexow.

Let Messrs. Havemeyer, Searies, et al., be re-summoned and these questions put to them:

"What wages did you pay before the foundation of the Trust?"

"What wages do you pay now?"

"How many men were employed in the establishments that now constitute the Trust?"

"How many are now employed?"

"How many hours of work were demanded of the men before the founding of the Trust?"

"How many hours are now demanded of them?"

"How many accidents happen to the men in each of your establishments?"

"Is an ambulance kept almost perpetually at the door of your refineries to take charge of the almost constant accidents?"

"What is the temperature in the refineries?"

"How many men are prostrated by work?"

These questions are decidedly more to the point.

Put them, Lexow, if you mean business; or fail to put them, and let the people know that you are but a basso profundo in a melodramatic show.

Next week we shall give you some more hints.

IS IT PROPHETIC?

The Bradley Martin ball presents an aspect that seems, so far, to have been overlooked. Hitherto it was used either as a text for the discontented to prove the extravagance of the idle rich in the midst of the toiling poor, or as a text for pulpiteers to descant on, and an occasion for them to implore their rich pew holders to be less ostentatious with their stolen goods. But there is a third point that well merits attention, and

that suggests the question: Are the Bradley Martin class guided by a prophetic instinct?

It will be noticed that the most favorite impersonations on the occasion are characters that figured conspicuously on the scaffold during the bloody era of the French Revolution, when the oncoming capitalist, rendered frantic by the danger that beset the revolution which he had conjured forth, seemed to lose his head, and, in the panic of fear that he was thrown in by the attitude of the ruling class, sought and succeeded to cool his brow in the blood of the feudal nobility which he had thrown from power. At the Bradley Martin ball there were not less than five Marie Antoinettes, rafts of courtiers, male and female, of the time of Louis XVI., and a large crowd of the nobility of those days. The originals of all of these, who did not manage to cross the frontier in time, were slaughtered; their heads, stuck on pikes, and their hearts, spitted on the prongs of pitchforks, were marched through the streets of Paris to the tune of "Down with the Aristocrats."

In our own days we are approaching one of those historical epochs when a ruling class, rotten-ripe for overthrow, is to be hurled from power by the class below. The class whose dissolution is now approaching is the identical one, only now in its decrepitude, that made the French Revolution, and which, made frantic by the conspiracy of the feudalists, was driven to commit the horrors of that great social upheaval. The class whose triumph is now at hand, the proletariat or working class, not yet ripe a hundred years ago for masterhood, played a hundred years ago the role of food for cannon in behalf of the capitalist revolutionist. Ripe now, or rapidly ripening, to perform its own part, it is about to fulfil its historic mission—abolish class distinctions by placing in the hands of all the people the tools of production, which, if owned by a class, make that class master and all others slaves.

In pursuit of its noble mission, the class-conscious proletarian organizes upon the lines of peace. Its path is the political path, its weapon the ballot. Its success would be prompt and easy but for the conduct of the capitalist class. This class is now resorting to fraud; it is seeking to cheat the workers out of their ballot; it is blocking the path of peace and thereby introducing the tactics of violence—just the same as the French feudalists did a hundred years ago. In view of all this, the Bradley Martin ball and its costumes suggest the questions: Are these people animated by a prophetic instinct? Do they realize that their shameless breaches of the suffrage law and their conspiracies to disfranchise the people tend to force the citizens to resort to violence? And, finally, do they mean to suggest to the oncoming revolutionist the drastic methods adopted by their own class, when it rose against the feudalism of France, by reproducing the characters that stood in the way of their revolution in that country?

Inscrutable are the ways of Providence. Its methods to teach a lesson are its own. All that can be done by the Socialist is to hasten his peaceful work of education, and thus prevent, if possible, the verification of the prophecy that seems to be trumpeted to the people of this land by the significant characters that have danced the cotillion of honor at the Bradley Martin ball masqué.

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

The Rome, Italy, "Asino," a Socialist illustrated humorous paper, has a picture of two competing capitalists—a protectionist and a free-trader—laying their plans to defraud the Socialist Labor party of the seats that it is feared the party will carry at the pending elections for the Italian Parliament. And they hold this dialogue:

Free-trade Capitalist—"At any rate, we must come to an agreement to save the country by keeping out the Socialists upon the plan that I propose."

Protectionist Capitalist—"Very well, I agree to defraud the workers of their ballot upon your plan. After that we shall proceed to defraud the nation upon my plan."

The Cumberland, Md., "Uncle Sam" is agitated over the question:

"Will it be evolution or revolution?"

This is as senseless as if a midwife were to be agitated over the question whether the expected arrival will be a child or a human being.

All children are human beings, and so are all revolutions evolutions.

Revolution is but the critical period of evolution; to imagine evolution without revolution or revolution without evolution is like imagining a human being without previous birth.

The popular error attaches to the word "revolution" a meaning that is essential to it, and that is misleading, to wit, "violence." Violence is as essential to "revolution" as a swallow-tail coat is unessential to man.

The danger of the confusion of the two terms lies in this: If "violence" is considered an indispensable accompaniment of "revolution," then, incidents that are accompanied with violence and are not at all revolutionary, may be taken for revolutionary; and inversely,

events that are truly revolutionary, but come unaccompanied with violence, may pass unperceived, and their deep revolutionary significance escape notice. For instance:

The development of Capitalism is an evolution, revolutionary are those critical epochs in its existence where the evolution is accentuated. The substitution by the Carnegie concern of its modern plant in Homestead, whereby large numbers of workers were rendered unnecessary and thereby the wages of the working class received a tangible reduction, while the profits of the Capitalist class were sent up higher, was a revolution, deep and far reaching, yet the change or the evolutionary step was taken without violence.

On the other hand, the uprising of the displaced Homestead workers and the "battle of Homestead" were certainly an act of violence; and yet nothing was more foreign to the act than "revolution." The act was just the reverse of revolution, it was reaction, resistance to evolution, and, therefore, anti-revolutionary. The Homestead strikers did not for a moment conceive a revolutionary idea. The revolutionary idea would have been to carry the evolution indicated by the new plant a step further by appropriating it for the people, who have to collectively operate it and who are to be collectively served by it. And yet nothing was further removed from the minds of the Homestead strikers.

The test of "revolution" is not "violence"; its test is "progression." Is an important act progressive?—then it is "revolutionary"; is it not progressive?—then, however much violence may accompany it, it is not revolutionary, it may even be anti-revolutionary.

The arguments that the Philadelphia "Tageblatt" continues to bring up, in support of the "Glasgow Plan" of municipalization and against the programme of the Socialist Labor party, are becoming more and more unsound.

The party's resolution, demanding from the capitalist government that the industries, which may be nationalized before its overthrow, be operated cooperatively by the workers therein engaged, employees for short, the "Tageblatt" now assails on the ground that such proposition would:

"Establish groups of PROFIT-making workingmen."

"Profits" are that part of the product of labor which the employer, the Capitalist, robs the worker of. For there to be "profits" out of a concern there must be an idle private employer who owns the plant, and toiling workers, who don't own the plant. Scientific political economy knows of no other "profits"; all other use of the term is too loose for useful and practical purposes. How, then, on earth can an industry, that has been municipalized on the Socialist plan, yield "profits"? What room would there be for the "idle private employer" to stand on? Whom would the workers be making "profit" out of? A man who makes "profits" out of himself is a curiosum; in economics he is the abortion of such brains as Henry George's.

The time taken by the "Tageblatt" in throwing flings at what it calls:

"The new, non-German, elements that have joined the Socialist Labor party," could be spent to better purpose by the "Tageblatt" in brushing up its Socialist economics. They threaten badly to be invested with the rust.

The Havana, Cuba, "Diario del Ejercito" contributes valuable evidence, valuable because it is a capitalist paper—to the charge that Socialists make against Capitalism on the score of its corruption and treason to the nation. The paper says:

"The public press has lately been uncovering the frauds that are committed by the contractors engaged in supplying the Spanish army on the island with clothing, shoe wear and food. The samples on which the contracts were obtained are greatly superior to the articles actually delivered."

The fact is unquestionable, nor is it an accident; it is the rule. To speculate fraudulently upon the small wage of the soldier, to cheat him cruelly, is a repulsive crime, all the more so for being a fraud upon the nation herself.

"Where is the patriotism of these contractors?"

The Terre Haute, Ind., "Railway Times," in its laudable, but untrained anxiety to promote Socialism, is in danger of doing more mischief than good. In its issue of the 1st instant it argues extensively in favor of the claim that "Jesus was a Socialist."

In the language of Comrade Jules Guesde, held in the French Chamber recently, and published a few weeks ago in these columns, all the noble hearts and noble minds of the past who have truly felt pity for the oppressed and strove to improve their lot, and above all, all those among them, who, true to themselves, had the manhood to carry their great ideal to the scaffold, may justly be claimed by the Socialists as their traditional precursors, but not as their intellectual ancestors.

Jesus could not be a Socialist. To understand this is to be proof against the many side-tracking allurements that beset the path of the modern and militant Socialist.

Socialism is not an aim, it is the means to an object. The object is now, as it long has been, to remove popular,

undeserved suffering. The means to that end could not be Socialism until material conditions engendered Socialist thought. The mere existence of misery is not the material condition precedent for Socialist thought. The material condition precedent thereto is the existence of such tools of production as compel co-operative labor, and, therefore, compel the collective ownership of these tools as the means to escape a continued and intensified condition of popular degradation. Socialism, while certainly animated by the noblest motives of all times, is an economic-political movement that begins and ends with the demand that the machinery of production, which is necessarily operated collectively, shall be as collectively owned.

Such a thought could not rise 1897 years ago for the simple reason that no such machinery of production was then in existence, those being the days, infant days at that, of individual production by small and individual tools.

At that stage of man's career, and so long as the present machine had not yet appeared, popular poverty could not be abolished, for the simple reason that there was not enough producible for all.

The best that a feeling heart could then do was to transfer to himself the distress of others. Where there is but one blanket and there are two men, one has to go cold. If A. has the blanket and B. is freezing, A. may pity B. and pass his blanket over to him; but then, the cold that B. suffered is not suppressed; it is passed over to A. Such was the nature of the apostolic communities. It could be none other. To-day, however, we no longer need to shift misery about, we can abolish it: instead of there being Heaven for two men, there are now four to two; and this is the result of the co-operative labor of men who are, by the very nature of their tools, compelled to work together.

To maintain that Jesus was a Socialist is to ignore the reason why Socialism is to-day a necessary thing. The center of gravity of the great movement of our day is thereby removed from its intellectual basis, where it belongs, to a purely sentimental basis that exposes it to be wrecked by that most dangerous of all elements: the well meaning but unenlightened.

* * * There is a danger that by a too strict adherence to their present methods of propaganda and consequent neglect of vital living issues, the Nationalists may only succeed in stereotyping our historical studies into a worship of the past, or crystallizing Nationalism into a tradition, glorious and heroic indeed, but still only tradition. * * * If the National movement of our day is not merely to re-enact the old sad tragedies of our past history, it must show itself capable of rising to the exigencies of the moment. It must demonstrate to the people of Ireland and the world at large that Irish Nationality is not merely a morbid idealizing of the past, but is also capable of formulating a distinct and definite answer to the problems of the present, and a political and economic creed capable of adjustment to the wants of the future. This concrete political and social ideal, I believe, will be best supplied by a frank acceptance, on the part of all earnest Nationalists, of the Socialist Republic as the goal of our endeavors. The Republic, that is to say, the progressive applications of the principles of true democracy to the national, industrial, and agricultural affairs of our country. Not a Republic, as is France, where a middle-class monarchy with an elective head parades the constitutional abominations of England, and in open alliance with the Muscovite tyrants of Poland, brazenly proclaims their apostacy to the ideals of their revolutionary forefathers; not a Republic, as in the United States, where the power of the purse has established a new tyranny under the forms of freedom, where one hundred years after the feet of the last British red-coat had polluted the streets of Boston, British landlords and financiers impose upon the necks of American citizens a servitude compared with which the tax of pre-Revolution days was but as a pin scratch to a bayonet wound. No! the Republic I would wish our fellow countrymen to set before them as their ideal should be of such a character that the mere mention of its name would at all times serve as a beacon light to the victims of every form of oppression, holding forth promise of freedom and plenty as the reward of their efforts on its behalf. * * * It may be pleaded that the ideal of a Socialist Republic, implying as it does a complete political and economic revolution (vesting the entire ownership of land, railways, machinery, and instruments of labor generally in the hands of those who use them in town and country, to be controlled by their own associations, freely elected on a basis of perfect equality and universal suffrage, subordinate to and represented in the Democratic Congress of an independent Irish State), would be sure to alienate all our middle class and aristocratic sympathizers, who would dread the loss of their privileges and property. What does this objection mean? That we must conciliate the privileged classes in Ireland. But you can only disarm their hostility by assuring them that in a free Ireland their "privileges" will not be interfered with—that is to say, you must guarantee that when Ireland is free of foreign domination the green coats of an Irish army will guard the fraudulent gains of capitalist and landlord from "the thin hands of the poor" as effectually and as remorselessly as the scarlet-coated emissaries of England do to-day. On no other basis will the classes unite with

you. Do you expect the masses to fight for this ideal (sic)? Or when you talk of freeing "Ireland," do you only mean the chemical elements which compose the soil of Ireland? Or is it the Irish people you mean? If the latter, from what do you propose to free them? From the rule of England? But all systems of political administration or governmental machinery are but the reflex of the economic forms which underlie them. * * * If you could remove the English army to-morrow and hoist the green flag over Dublin Castle, unless you set about the organization of the Socialist Republic, your efforts would be in vain. England would still rule you; she would rule you through her capitalists, through her landlords, through her financiers, through her usurers, through the whole array of commercial and individual institutions she has planted in this country and watered with the tears of our mothers and the blood of our martyrs, England would rule you to your ruin even while your lips offered hypocritical homage at the shrine of that Freedom whose cause you had betrayed. Nationalism without Socialism: i. e., without a reorganization of society on the basis of a broader and more developed form of that common property which underlies the social structure of Ancient Erin, is only national recreancy, since it would be tantamount to a public declaration that our oppressors had so far succeeded in inoculating us with their perverted conceptions of justice and morality, that we had finally accepted them as our own, and no longer needed an alien army to force them upon us. As a Socialist I am prepared to do all one man can do to achieve for our sireland, her rightful heritage, independence; but if you ask me to abate one jot or tittle of the claims of pure justice, in order to win the sympathy of the privileged classes, then I must decline. Such action would neither be honorable nor feasible. Let us never forget that he never reaches Heaven who marches thither in the company of the devil. Let us openly proclaim our faith, the logic of events is with us.

B. J.—In what way is the Lodge bill that?

U. S.—The labor market is overstocked to the weavers; did immigration do that?

B. J.—No; type-setting machinists did it.

U. S.—The labor market is overstocked to the cigarmakers; did immigration do that?

ECONOMIC SANITATION.

Now Those Fare Who are Set Afloat to Look for "Something Else."

DE SOTO, Kans., Feb. 1.—In a recent evening edition of one of the great western dailies—one of the special favorites of the George Gould Associated Press combine—the senior member of the largest department store in the west is reported as saying: "The present commercial crisis is all right; it is a perfectly healthful and natural process: nothing more than the regular, periodic squeeze, by means of which the business world gets rid of weak, decadent and financially diseased members. As soon as these are weeded out, we will return to its normal condition and it will be all right again."

"All right?" Yes; all right for the department store. Every small concern thus "squeezed" out of existence simply enlarges the scope of that particular division of the department store. But what of the small dealer and producer? Pooh! what of them, to be sure, and of their families and dependents? Why waste a breath or a thought? "They can go into something else." Oh, certainly! This divine competitive system provides so grandly for that! And the great world of commerce under capitalism wags on, refreshed and invigorated again after a season of the aforementioned Economic Sanitation, selected "squeeze."

Let us look into this thing which the department store president calls a "natural process," and see how the old thing works.

There are (or were) a thousand estab-

lishments producing a certain line of goods and giving employment to an average of twenty men each, or an aggregate of twenty thousand wage earners. Some one of these ingenious wage slaves, who, in order to secure employment, has signed a written contract to turn over to the "house" any invention he may devise, has a valuable improvement in machinery or process patented IN THE NAME OF THE FIRM, by means of which one man can do the work formerly requiring two men. The establishment is enlarged, the new department is placed on the market, and only 10 of the old concerns, being in condition financially to improve and enlarge their works, things at once line up for a new period of "Economic Sanitation," under which "healthful process" the six hundred weak concerns go to the wall, and a new era of industrial prosperity is ushered in—FOR THE ELECT FOUR HUNDRED. One half of the original wage earners find work in the four hundred enlarged shops and the other ten thousand start out, after the small dealers before mentioned in search of "something else," and are probably yet hitting the road hard in the vain quest.

Nothing, however, stands still very long. The world moves, and perhaps before all of the elect four hundred shops are fairly settled under the new conditions another improvement puts in an appearance, and another season of "healthful" industrial and commercial sanitation is inaugurated, by means of which the theory of the "survival of the fittest" is again vindicated. One hundred concerns this time survive the periodic "squeeze." Under the new conditions three men do the work lately requiring five, and four thousand more the bone and sinew of the land join the army of peripatetic industry in search of the evanescent "something else."

Coincidentally, the Associated Press, with cheerful alacrity, assures a credulous reading public that the results are "highly beneficial to the country at large," and numerous surviving small dealers, farmers and other petty producers congratulate themselves upon the improved prosperity of getting things CHEAP. And things are CHEAP, to be sure, and it is wherewithal to purchase were only available also, how complete their happiness. When will the great host of small dealers and producers learn that for every sixpence saved to them through this squeezing process a full shilling or more is lost through the inability of the squeezed to secure the necessities, to say little of the conveniences, and nothing at all of the luxuries of civilized life?

However, the elect one hundred firms—warned by the fate of the squeezed one hundred, unite for material safety, and the modern "trust" steps into the commercial arena. But even trusts have their day. Inside our trust is a few—a board of managers—and few so "manage" that conditions imposed that necessitate the formation of a giant stock concern that so concentrates the energies of the industry that but a dozen or fifteen plants, equipped with the most modern machinery, fully satisfy the capitalistic supply and demand. One-fourth of the original number of employees now find work, and another body of recruits reinforces the unwieldy army of the "something else."

CORRESPONDENCE.**Who Can Tell?**

Editor THE PEOPLE.—In the last two numbers of THE PEOPLE I see articles referring to Lyman J. Gage, of Chicago, and uncovering his infamy.

Unless my memory is terribly at fault, that gentleman was on the jury that sentenced Spies, Parsons, et al, to death.

I think he was the foreman of that jury. Is that so?

My recollection of those terrible days is now getting mixed, and I do not feel infallibly sure of some of them, but this, I think, is the fact.

I know that after the reaction in public opinion set in, and some of the facts seemed bound to come out anyhow, and when the election of Altgeld was imminent, Gage took a prominent part in the supererogatory work of getting Fielden, Schwab and Neebe a pardon, thereby removing, at least from the gaze of near-sighted people, the blood that stained his hands.

It will be worth while to look this up.

Philadelphia, Feb. 7. F. W. L.

N. Y. CITY.—The Young Socialist Literary Society held a regular meeting on Jan. 30. It was decided to open a free library for the members. The raffle of "Capital," by Carl Marx at 5c, a ticket will soon take place to aid the DAILY PEOPLE. All boys from 14 to 16 years of age who want to learn Socialism can become members. The society meets every Saturday evening at No. 101 Attorney Street.

"LAPSES".

(Continued from Page 1.)

far from backward in coming forward in the defence of their pet schemes for the "relief of labor" and the hard times. One great body solemnly announces that if proper "protection" had been afforded the "infant industries" that have succumbed to the ruthless "squeezing" process, the idle wage-hunters would even now be revelling in the luxuries of wage-slavery (they don't call it that, but that's what it means), and hence it becomes their patriotic duty to "save the country" again—with their votes. This "logical" appeal carries conviction to a very great number of the army of the unemployed, and they in turn organize and shout for "protection," though what in the world THEY have to protect, by tariff or otherwise, it would puzzle a sage (not a Russell Sage—HE KNOWS) to tell. But it catches its thousands, they vote the ticket "straight," and God save the mark! "Save the country" from—what? As those weary souls, toll-worn in the "labor of superintendence," the Goulds, the Vanderbilts, the Sages, the Havemeyers, the Rockefellers—THEY know—but they won't tell, at least to you and me. While these two factions absorb the major part of the "labor vote" they don't get it all, not quite—yet. A few muster under the leadership of parson Dryasdust, who has a fold.

And shears his sheep of silver and gold.

Sitting under the droppings of the sanctuary, these few (and devoted) have learned, or at least have been told, that the whole trouble lies in the neglect of the means of salvation, and the consequent attachment to the flesh-pots of Egypt. That the saloon, the beer garden, have waxed rich and portly because the hard earned monies of the wage-earner had been diverted from the treasury of the Lord and poured into the coffers of the saloon-keeper. To be sure these lambs of the fold have never themselves so diverted the Lord's revenues, but there were certain Toms and Jims who may at times have so done, and that proves it, of course, don't it?

And so the Dry Party craft, without rudder of compass, is launched into the troubled waters of the political seas in the name of Him who wrought the miracle at Cana, in Galilee, who fed the hungry and comforted the lowly, and who, from the business end of a whip of many thongs enunciated the sentiment: "It is written that My house shall be called the house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves."

But there was one ticket the "labor vote" didn't patronize—at least to any very great extent—in 1896—and when I tell you of some of the foolish doctrines promulgated by this said party of the last part, you won't wonder that the wage-earner didn't support it very largely. Among the absurd ideas advocated by this party that got left by the workingman (and woman) was that of "the public ownership of the machinery of production and distribution." Just think of such a thing! Can you imagine the era of chaos and corruption that such a state of affairs would usher in? Think of the simplicity, the purity, the beneficence of our present industrial system, and then shudder at what we have escaped, at what would have happened had this pernicious party carried the day. Why, they even proclaimed through their press and from the platform that "labor and labor only produces wealth—capital!" Think of that! That "every millionaire means a thousand others in poverty." How's that for high? That "the product of labor belongs justly to the producer." How absurd! That "those out of or who do not work are maintained by those who do work." Fine state of affairs that! And—but I must stop somewhere—that "private ownership of land and capital was as wrong, was as illogical as private ownership of water, air or sunlight or the suffrage." No wonder then that the great army of the "something else," hard-headed, common sense, practical men all fled in dismay from such pernicious teachings to the sheltering folds of the tents of free coinage, tariff, prohibition, sound money, gold standard, bi-metallism and other such well tried and proven panaceas, so trustworthy, so helpful, so beneficial in the past, and so productive of good cheer, comfort and happiness to the laboring masses. How fortunate that the country was "saved" by not voting that pernicious ticket—the Socialist Labor party ticket!—there! I've let the cat out of the bag! You won't need now to ask G. Gould nor R. Sage.

The fate of the International Union in the hands of these labor fakirs is a striking commentary on the peculiar development of the "pure and simple" union in America. It also explains to perfection the secret of the "broadness" of these racists. No employee of an insurance company would think of being so "narrow" as to desire all the policy holders to be Republican or Democrat or Socialist, or what not. What he is after is his wages or salary, and to get these, money must come in. Anyone with money to pay premiums is his man; anyone with none he has no use for. Hence it comes that the labor fakir is "broad"; the bond that unites the workers to one another and to him must be their capacity to pay dues. Insane were the insurance president or agent who would make political economy or politics part of his jargon to get new policy holders; for the same reason the labor fakirs eschew such matters—their pockets are broad enough for the dues of any party man, and they have a most natural aversion for the "narrowness" of the Socialist or New Trade Unionist, whose tactics would cause the fakirs' pockets to become proportionately "narrow."

Can anything be clearer?

N. Y. CITY.—Lectures on Socialism will take place on Sunday, Feb. 14, at 8 p. m., at the following places: At Stuyvesant Hall, where M. London will lecture on "Thomas Moore and His Utopia"; at Hudson Building, corner of 37th street and 8th avenue, where A. Cahan will lecture on "Fin de Siecle"; at Webster Hall, corner of 140th street and 3d avenue. A. S. Brown will lecture on "Misconceptions of Socialism." There will also be a meeting in the afternoon, at 2:30, at the club rooms of the Socialist Literary Society, 161 Monroe street. These meetings are free to all.

Daily People Minor Fund.

Previously acknowledged..... \$1,528 11
Feb. 6-12th Ward Br. Section..... 50

Kings Co. 2 00
Feb. 6—Max. Sant. 50

Feb. 9—Uncle George 1 00

Total \$1,531 61

HENRY KUHN, Fin. Secy.

"THE OUTLOOK".

(Continued from Page 1.)

clothes or shoes, too much food or coal? No! Men, women and children are in rags, shoeless, hungry and cold. Is it because they do not know how to produce these things? No! Then why do they not satisfy their wants? It is because to do so they must have access to the land, factories and other machinery of production. The working classes are not the owners of these tools, and, as a consequence, must sell themselves to those who are, to wit, the capitalist class. And in return for the privilege of using them the workers receive, not what they produce, but wages. A correct understanding of the term wages and knowledge of the law governing them will enable you more readily to see how gloomy is the outlook for labor under the present capitalist system.

Wages are that portion of the worker's product which the capitalist allows him to retain. According to the census returns, the working class receive about one-fifth of the total wealth produced. The balance remains in the hands of the capitalist class, and they, being few in number, cannot, no matter how extravagantly they may live, consume their whole plunder. They practically appeal for buyer; but of course none respond, because their low wages don't allow them to. The consequence is that we have the workers starving when there is plenty of food; ragged, when there is plenty of clothes; shoeless, amidst an abundance of shoes; cold, when there is ample fuel. An abundance of wealth and dire poverty was unknown among even uncivilized peoples. As late as the year 1869 the Rev. Sam. Gorham wrote to Lewis H. Morgan telling of how the Indians of Laguna village, New Mexico, had common granaries for the storing of food, and that hunger was unknown unless two years of scarcity succeeded each other. Our boasted civilization has reversed all this. Now, two years of plenty means hunger for the workers, and the law of wages makes this so. For the worker is in a position to obtain an increase of wages only when there is less labor power for sale than the capitalist needs. On the other hand, the worker is compelled to accept lower wages when there is more labor power for sale than the capitalist wants to buy. In other words, the price, or wages, if labor is determined the same as that of any other commodity, to wit, by the law of supply and demand.

Now, there are two factors at work in society which are ever tending to produce a supply of labor in excess of the demand for it. The first is the introduction and perfection of machinery. You all know the effect of this factor in production upon the cotton spinners, weavers, shoemakers, tailors, carpenters, glass workers, iron and steel workers, printers, etc. And in those trades which as yet have not been directly affected it is only a matter of time when they will. In my own trade, for instance, the close plating of saddlery hardware, my fellow craftsmen used to say that machines would never displace us. But of late years their tune has changed considerably, as a result of at least one-half of our work being taken away by machinery. Now the horseless carriage is pronounced a success. This means that not only will our work be dispensed with entirely, but also the work of the harness makers, and thousands of men engaged in other branches of this industry. Machinery has trebled and quadrupled the capacity of the working class to produce wealth; but instead of that being a blessing to the town it has driven thousands upon the streets to beg or starve.

The other factor is the concentration of capital. Let us suppose in a given industry there are fifty firms competing one with the others to sell their product. Each has its separate retinue of book-keepers, drummers, advertising agents, foremen, superintendents, and so on. Competition being nothing more or less than industrial war, it is only a matter of time when some of the firms are vanquished, either through lack of capital and occasionally for being too scrupulous. Those that are left in the fight raise the flag of truce, and the trust, the logical outcome of competition, appears upon the scene. It has no use for the numerous book-keepers who were employed by the fifty firms now, for the drummers, advertising agents, foremen, and superintendents. All but a few are discharged, so that expenses may be low.

The large capital necessitated by the use of machinery in an industry makes the trust a possibility, and its position finally unassailable. As a result, the middle class farmer, manufacturer and store-keeper are being hurled into the ranks of the working class at an alarming rate, thereby intensifying that fierce competition among them that is produced by wages-saving machinery. The consequence is that wages, the price of labor, must fall whenever capitalist political party may be in power, no matter what its fiscal or financial policy may be. This can perhaps be made more clear to you by using an illustration.

Let us suppose that, instead of the millions of wage workers, we have but three, and instead of the thousands of capitalists we have only one. The three wage workers are in the employ of the one capitalist, and are receiving \$10 each per week in return for their labor. They are working by hand, and producing \$60 worth of goods each week. This means that the three workers, whom we will call the working class, are receiving \$30 weekly, which enables them to buy back half the wealth they produce. It is unnecessary for the capitalist to have a very large and delicate stomach or a taste for "Little Egypt" to consume the other half. He may do that easily and so keep his hands regularly employed. But suppose machinery should take the place of hand labor, and that the three men could produce \$150 worth of goods each week. The \$30 as wages is now only one-fifth of the total wealth produced. The working class can no longer buy back half of what they produce. They must be satisfied with one-fifth. This illustrates exactly what is going on to-day in this land. As the facilities to produce wealth increase the power of the worker to consume it decreases in exactly the same ratio, while the power of the parasite capitalist class to consume, though it increases, can not increase as fast as the plunder. That disgraceful orgie, the "Seely Dinner," and now the Bradley Martin ball, estimated to cost \$250,000, are but instances of this. A quarter of a million of dollars to be spent at one

lick, while thousands of hungry men will be shivering in the bitter winds of winter, is one of the counts in the indictment that the Socialist Labor party hurl in the face of capitalism. Well may the ministers of the capitalists warn them of the danger there is in the display of such extravagance, while the workers, who make this ball a possibility, are starving.

It has been argued that these squanderings of money give work to the unemployed. Let us analyse this argument. I will use part of the previous illustration. As a result of the capitalist's not consuming his four-fifths of the wealth that is produced, in due time he must have so much at his command that he is in a quandary what he shall do with it. He proceeds first to discharge his work people, and then when poverty results he conceives the idea of a Bradley Martin ball, a great human-like feast to get rid of the surplus, so that he can re-employ the wage worker to produce new wealth for him. The capitalist, when arguing that the spending of money is the means of helping the poor, unconsciously refutes his own argument that thrift is a blessing to the workers under capitalism. It is self-evident that, if they were to save all of their wages, and live on wind puddings and water soup, the wealth which their wages represent would remain unsold, and be the means of hastening the industrial crisis. 'Tis true that the individual wage worker who neither drinks beer nor smokes tobacco, stands upon a small pedestal when compared with those of his class who do drink and smoke; but he does so because they propose to remain below him in that respect. Let them once decide, like him, to mount the pedestal, and it is suddenly kicked from under the whole of them by the law of wages. They having voluntarily reduced the standard of living, wages can be reduced accordingly. This is shown in the case of women workers, who are satisfied with tea-drinking, and whose wages are at the tea-drinking level.

Do not allow this argument to cause you to imble more freely, rather let it serve as a recommendation to spend less of your wages in that manner, but what you cut off in this direction expend in Socialist literature, the Socialist Labor party and its press.

When we look over the platforms of the political parties of the day we find that there is but one which holds out any hope for us, and that is the platform of the Socialist Labor party. It goes to the root of the evil and declares that pauperism in the midst of plenty is the inevitable result of private property in the instruments of production, transportation and distribution, and logically proposes that the wage workers use their political power to wrest from the hands of the capitalist class those tools and make them free of access to all by establishing the Socialist Commonwealth. Then, involuntary poverty could not be. Instead of the workers receiving wages representing one-fifth of the wealth they produced, they would receive the representative of the whole of it, enabling them to buy it back. Consequently, an industrial crisis would also be an impossibility.

The defenders of our present social system hide the big capitalist behind the small property owner and exclaim to us: "You would take away his hard earned house and lot, his small factory or store," as the case may be. Our answer is: "No; we will not; but the jackal behind him will." The numerous failures of the small business men show that the property of the middle class is rapidly being confiscated by the more powerful or large capitalists. The boldest of whom talk of their "vested right" to rob these as well as the workers, and argue that no one has a right to prevent them from doing as they like. The argument is centuries old. Charles L. claimed the right to tax the people at leisure and ignore the will of Parliament. He did so, until at last the Round Heads said it was a vested right, and chopped off his head. King George claimed the right to do as he liked with his American colonies, and he did, until the Revolutionists drove his red coats and Hessians from these shores. The chattel slave owner had a vested right to do as he liked with the negro slave, but when the smoke cleared from the battlefield of Appomattox he found his vested right taken away from him. So the capitalist class will wake up some morning from its slumbers to find that an enlightened Proletariat has taken away their "vested right" to do as they like with their property—the tools of production.

To the end that we may soon have that enlightened Proletariat, you who are comrades in the Socialist movement should redouble your efforts to disseminate the principles of our party. Show your fellow wage-slaves that through that party alone it is possible to prevent starvation in your city during times like the present. A Socialist Municipal Council would not heed the capitalist's cry of "Don't feed the hungry with our tax money." They believe with Benjamin Franklin, who said: "Private property is a creature of society, and is subject to the call of that society whenever its necessities shall require it, even to its last farthing." They know full well that labor is the source of all wealth, and that it is the working and not capitalist class who actually pay all taxes. The capitalist political parties and their henchmen, the labor fakirs, proceed from the principle that the wealth in the hands of the capitalists is theirs, and belongs by right to them; but the Socialist proceeds in matters of legislation upon the principle that all wealth belongs by right of production to the working class. Hence, where the former is conservative, the latter is radical; where the former is timid, the latter is fearless; where the capitalist prates of "reform" the Socialist says "revolution"—not a change of masters, but the abolition of them; revolution, not to knock the gold bugs or large capitalists off our backs and place silver bugs or small capitalists thereon, but revolution to knock all bugs, all loafers, off the backs of the working people.

For an Italian Paper.
All comrades and sympathizers who realize the importance of upholding a Socialist paper in the Italian language in this country are requested to send contributions and subscriptions to Comrade C. F. Garzone, 14 Varick place, N. Y. City. Send at least a nickel. "Il Proletario" needs assistance. To discontinue its valuable work would be a serious setback to the movement among the Italian wage earners.

PARTY NEWS.

Activity of Militant Socialists East, West, North and South.

Attention, N. Y.

THE REORGANIZATION CONVENTION FOR GREATER NEW YORK WILL MEET SATURDAY, THE 13TH INSTANT, AT 8 P. M., IN THE N. Y. LABOR LYCEUM, 64 E. 4th ST.

COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION.

National Executive.

Regular meeting held Feb. 9, 1897. Comrade Waldinger in the chair; absent, Franz and Reed; Reed excused.

The sub-committee appointed in regard to charges against Section St. Louis recommended the adoption of the following resolutions:

WHEREAS, Charges have been preferred against Section St. Louis, specifying that said Section has violated Art. 4 of Miscellaneous Regulations and Sec. 6 of Art. II. of the constitution, in that one August Priesterbach, formerly a member of the S. L. P., but who just prior to the late campaign left the party to support Bryan, was proposed for membership at a meeting of Section St. Louis held Jan. 2, 1897;

Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, was unanimously endorsed, and ordered to be printed in Lynn "Daily Item." Comrade Fitzgerald was authorized to do this. The election of a secretary agent for this State was approved by this Section.

Michigan.

DETROIT, Feb. 6.—The State Committee has decided to go into the spring campaign, and urges all places where Sections are located to go into the local election; also, everybody interested in the only true labor cause and wants to do his duty should try to lay the foundation for a solid movement and state organization, agitate and organize Sections. Delegates should be nominated for State convention. The date and place for convention has been referred to the Sections for vote. Those who want further information address M. Meyer, No. 361 Hendricks street, Secy., Michigan State Committee.

Missouri.

Report of Missouri State Committee of the S. L. P. for the month of January, 1897.

RECEIPTS.
Jan. 1—Carried forward from Dec. 1896. \$1 15
Jan. 1—Sol. Kaucher, financial secretary, Section St. Louis Constitutions. 10
Jan. 7—Section St. Louis Constitutions. 8
Jan. 11—2 emblem buttons at large. 250
Jan. 20—Ed. Heitzig, treasurer, cash. 250
Jan. 26—Section St. Louis, 30 due stamps. 3 00
Jan. 27—Carl Weber, Section Bevier, 12 due stamps. 1 20
\$8 23

EXPENDED.
Jan. 4—1 doz. carbon paper. 50
Jan. 8—P. O. stamps. 20
Jan. 16—Half ream of paper. 55
Jan. 16—P. O. stamps. 10
Jan. 20—Notary public fee. 2 50
Jan. 21—Registering letter to Nat. Ex. Com. 10
Jan. 28—Sign cloth for masque ball. 38
Jan. 28—P. O. stamps. 10
Jan. 30—Sign frame. 30
Jan. 30—Paint. 19
Jan. 30—Carpet tacks. 5
\$4 88
On hand. 3 35

STAMP ACCOUNT.
Jan. 1—Due stamps on hand. 71

DISBURSED.
Jan. 26—Section St. Louis. 30
Jan. 28—Section Bevier. 12
42
29
71

On hand. 42
29
71
Due cards—Received none, disbursed none, on hand 58.

Constitutions on hand Jan. 1, 100; sold Section St. Louis, 36; on hand, 64.

Emblem buttons on hand Jan. 1, 2; sold 2; on hand, none.

LEWIS C. FRY,
Secretary, State Committee.

New Jersey.

REPORT OF STATE COMMITTEE N. J.
Comrade Herrshaft acted as chair-man. Minutes adopted as read and published in THE PEOPLE.

Communications were received from Caricstadt, Trenton, Plainfield, Camden, Union Hill, the National Executive Committee, Comrades Richter and Ma-guire.

ESSEX COUNTY.—Reported increase of membership; lectures of Comrade Sanial are well attended; party shows a general progress.

HUDSON COUNTY.—Reports the organization of a new branch at North Bergen; progress is reported to the County Committee from all Sections and branches.

PASSAIC COUNTY.—Reports the branches meet with an increase of membership; they have arranged Sunday lectures; Comrade Sanial is also lecturing every week; Commune festival has been arranged for the 19th of March.

UNION COUNTY.—All branches are slowly progressing; have an increase of membership; Section Plainfield has been reorganized; Elizabeth's Comrades have established headquarters and reading room at 656 Elizabeth avenue, where all Comrades are welcome.

BERGEN COUNTY.—Reports a more aggressive agitation and numerical progress.

CAMDEN COUNTY.—Has organized a new branch and is about to begin a more aggressive agitation.

MERCER COUNTY.—Moves on slowly; the Comrades are all active.

The Secretary reported that he sent out the general vote; communicated with the various County Committees about the agitation of the Italian Commo-dore Verro and sent credentials to Comrade Orman for general organizer of Bergen County. The report was received and the action of the Secretary endorsed.

The Secretary was instructed to await the reply of the different County Committees in regard to the agitation of Comrade Verro. In case the result of the general vote shows a majority for a convention, the Secretary is to call the next meeting for Feb. 7, 3 p.m.

The following resolution was adopted:

RESOLVED, That we advise all Sections and branches throughout the State to enter the municipal campaign at the coming spring election.

Comrade Maguire was instructed to draw plan for a poster for the use of Sections and branches at the spring election. He shall submit such plan to the State Committee for approval at its next meeting.

Income, \$108.83; disbursements, \$67.40.

JOHN P. WEIGEL, Secy.

The result of the general vote is: 141 votes for and 106 votes against holding a convention this year. A majority of 35 votes in favor. As to the day for holding the convention, the 30th of May is nearly unanimously chosen. For the place for holding the convention in the following cities have been proposed:

Elizabeth, Newark, Paterson, Union Hill, Dover, Hoboken, Camden, Plainfield, New Brunswick, Perth Amboy and Jersey City.

The majority is for sending one delegate from each branch, and that each delegate must show his card of member-ship at the convention. Only one Sec-

THE DAILY PEOPLE

\$50,000 FUND.

Amount Pledged down to February 10th, 1897.

\$3,420.

At the meeting of the Daily People Committee, held Sunday, the 20th of December, 1896, an important step was taken from which, if a daily Socialist

paper is at all possible within a reasonable time, the consummation will be reached. The committee adopted the following resolutions:

WHEREAS, A daily PEOPLE has become an absolute necessity to counteract the false and falsified "news" that the capitalist press sets afloat, and to spread enlightenment in the ranks of the working class upon the Labor Question, and to prepare it to deal intelligently with the Social Revolution that is inevitable and is impending;

WHEREAS, The urgency of such a weapon of political and economic warfare in the English language against the plundering class of the capitalist is felt with increasing force, and the demand therefor becomes stronger by the day;

WHEREAS, The undertaking would result disastrously if not successfully put through;

WHEREAS, To make success certain, the paper must be able to survive two consecutive campaigns, that is to say, must appear daily during the period of at least thirteen consecutive months, absolutely independent, firm and uncompromising;

WHEREAS, The sum of not less than \$50,000 in hand is necessary to safely launch such an undertaking;

WHEREAS, Despite the general sense of the necessity of a daily English organ of labor, the collections for it have hitherto been slight; and

WHEREAS, It is evident that, so long as the foundation of such a paper seems indefinitely distant, the contributions will continue slight, while, on the contrary, if its foundation can appear prompt and definite it is likely that ample funds could be promptly gathered; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That a call be issued to the stalwarts, friends and sympathizers, to pledge themselves in the number of 5,000 to contribute each the sum of \$10, payable between the issuing of this call and the 1st day of September, 1897;

RESOLVED, That, if by that date the sum of not less than \$50,000 is cash in hands of the DAILY PEOPLE Committee, a DAILY PEOPLE be started forthwith on October 1st, 1897;

RESOLVED, That this call be printed in the party press of all languages; that subscription lists, headed with these resolutions, be issued to all the Sections and all applicants; and that the names of the subscribers, together with the sum subscribed by each and the installments in which the same is to be paid, be promptly notified to the Committee for publication from week to week.

Are there in the land 5,000 stalwarts to the emergency, ready to step up and to mount that needed and redoubt-

able battery of the Social Revolution in America—a DAILY PEOPLE?

Daily People Committee,

184 William St., N. Y.

L. B. Drew, Thompson, Minn. 4
J. Mahlon Barnes, Philadelphia, Pa. 10
Edward J. McLeod, N. Y. 10
John Wauters, Jamaica Plain, Boston, Mass. 10
Amer. Section No. 3, Jersey City Heights. 10
Richard Brett, Boston, Mass. 10
Julius G. Klavensky, N. Y. 10
Oliver K. Kline, N. Y. 10
Frank Bjorkgren, N. Y. 10
John Bjorkgren, N. Y. 10
Chas. A. Johnson, N. Y. 10
Julius Petersen, N. Y. 10
Valdemar Andersen, N. Y. 10
Adolf Lowenthal, N. Y. 10
A. F. Harkins, Everett, Mass. 10
Aug. Gillhaus, N. Y. 10
Total this week. \$150

The following amounts have been paid down to February 9th incl.: \$185.50
Ab. Hirshman, City. 50
Tobin, N. Y. 10. H. & Co., Geneva, Ohio. 50
Max. Levy, City. 50
Eml. Mueller, Brooklyn, N. Y. 10
Peter Spanoche, New Haven, Conn. 10
Carl Martens, New Haven, Conn. 10
F. E. Fiebig, Brooklyn, N. Y. 10
Fr. Campbell, Jersey City, N. J. 10
Louis Bauer, Brooklyn, N. Y. 10
Jean Henard, Brooklyn, N. Y. 10
Abra. Heller, City. 10
Samuel Heller, City. 10
Adolph Klein, City. 10
Eben Forbes, Brooklyn, N. Y. 10
G. R. Gordon, Manchester, N. H. 10
John Peacock, Hartford, Conn. 10
P. H. Peacock, Hartford, Conn. 10
McQuinton, City. 10
Entertainment at 228 Stanton St., City. Jan. 31, \$60. C. Steffens, Brooklyn, N. Y. 12
Wm. J. McLeed, City. 12
Richard Brett, Boston, Mass. 10
John Hossack, Jersey City, N. J. 10
Adolph Orange, New Haven, Conn. 10
Total. \$323.50

Pledgers will please keep in mind the dates on which their payments fall due, as per printed list, and remit promptly. If any error appears on the list, correct with equal promptness.

THE DAILY PEOPLE COMMITTEE.
184 William St., N. Y.

tion voted against. The State Committee will soon send out the call for the convention along with the ballots for a general vote on some of the questions that are yet in doubt.

For Secretary the following nominations have been made: Charles Pankoff, George Blasby and John P. Weigel.

For Financial Secretary: F. Ronquist, Ferd. Ulfert, Frank Wilson and Max Richter.

Votes are only to be reported on the official ballot which has been sent out this week. Fraternally yours,

JOHN P. WEIGEL, Secy.

NEWARK, N. J., Feb. 8.—Section Essex County, N. J., held its first Sunday monthly meeting on the 7th inst. After the usual business was transacted the following special action was taken:

1. The Ladies' Literary Club, twenty-eight members, organized as an aid to the Section and County Socialist Club, was heartily endorsed.

2. A resolution was passed instructing the three trustees of the Sections to take an inventory of and record the property of the Socialist Drum and Fife Corps, as requested by the corps, as property of the Section, and in return the Section pledges the corps its moral support. This was done to protect and perpetuate the corps as a true Socialist organization.

3. A committee of three was elected for the Bernardino Verro agitation.

4. Comrade Peunasaki's case of not reporting himself when out of work to Branch 3, and failing to pay his dues for said time, Branch 3 refusing to reinstate him unless arrears were paid, was, on the report of the Section Grievance Committee, duly considered. The Section decided that the Comrade should be considered a member from Jan. 1, the date of his application for reinstatement, on the payment of dues from that date, and two festival tickets, and in the future he and all others must report monthly to their branch secretary when unemployed if they would avail themselves of the unemployed privileges.

5. The Essex County Committee will meet every other Wednesday night, viz.: 10th, 24th, etc.

Ladies' Liberty Club, business meeting, first Thursday.

Ladies' Club night, third Monday.

New York.

N. Y. CITY.—To the Members of Branch I. (American):

Comrades—At the last meeting of the Branch, on Feb. 5th, the following

WHEREAS, Masked enemies of the S. L. P. and of the S. T. & L. A. have for some time been seeking to turn the "Abend Platt" against both;

WHEREAS, These masked enemies, having found their nefarious schemes balked by the sturdy loyalty of the said paper, now have entered into a conspiracy, backed by the Schoenfeld-Baroness Anarchists, and pure and simple, to destroy the paper; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the G. E. B. of the S. T. & L. A., recognizing the incorruptibility and loyalty of the "Abend Platt," extends its full support to the same, and warns all affiliated bodies to be careful not to allow themselves to be deceived and lured into an attitude of hostility towards the Jewish organ of the S. T. & L. A.

The Secretary was instructed to have the same printed in the different languages and distributed to the affiliated bodies.

A committee representing the Central Committee, S. L. P., was granted the floor relative to the question of the paying of dues of Section New York, S. L. P., to D. A. No. 1, and the matter was referred to D. A. No. 1.

A complaint of the Musical Prot. Alliance, 1,028, against the American Prot. Alliance was referred to D. A. No. 2.

D. A. No. 1 notified the body that the Barbers P. I. Union No. 1 had been expelled for insubordination, and it was decided to demand the return of the charter from same.

The matter of the next convention in June was discussed, and the following cities were proposed: Boston, Mass., and Chicago, Ill. The unions should discuss this, so as to be ready to elect delegates.

The following nominations were made for a member of the G. E. B. in place of C. F. Wilson: D. A. 1, 3 and 49 nominated Frank W. Wilson, Section Essex Co., S. L. P., Newark; D. A. 2 nominated Lorenz Fischer. The referendum vote should be in the hands of the Secretary on Monday, April 5, 1897.

The placing of certified checks in the safe deposit company will show to the respective societies a bona fide endeavor and fact that the amalgamation of the different societies, viz.: New York Painters, Operative Painters, Progressive Painters No. 1, and German Painters will, and is to take place on Monday, April 5, 1897.

The certified check to be held in abeyance at the Safe Deposit Company until the night of amalgamation, when trustees shall be elected, who shall, on the following day deposit the check in the bank.

The financial secretary, treasurer and trustees to be bonded in such sums as the society may determine.

Any delinquent not in good standing in his former respective society at the time of the society's joining the amalgamation must pay to the amalgamated society all fines and dues owing to his society, and furthermore, he stands suspended from all benefits for six months from date of payment thereof.

There shall be a headquarters, in charge of the financial secretary, who shall be paid a salary of \$21 per week, including night of regular meeting, to join the S. T. & L. A. The required information was remitted by Feb. 17, if possible.

Shirtmakers' Union and Knee-panters' Union were informed that if they were not satisfied with the actions of D. A. No. 2 they should appear by representatives on Feb. 17 before the G. E. B., with charges and evidence, or hold themselves liable to expulsion.

The Secretary was instructed to procure speakers for the mass meeting of D. A. No. 4 on March 27.

A long letter was received from Buena Vista, Pa., which stated that the miners all along the slope were ready to join the S. T. & L. A. The required information was remitted at once.

"Il Proletario," an Italian paper at Allegheny, Pa., requested information about and the principles of the S. T. & L. A. and promised to translate and publish the same, and urge all workmen to join.

San Francisco Trade and Labor Alliance wrote that it had organized the butchers, and it and several other trades would soon join the S. T. & L. A.

All members of the G. E. B. must attend the meeting on Wednesday, Feb. 17, promptly at 8 p.m., at No. 64 E. 4th street, without excuse.

Representatives shall report at least once a day to confer and attend to any matters that may take place within twenty-four hours.

Members may pay their dues during the day and report it out of work.

Members knowing of bosses in need of men shall immediately notify by postal or verbally the need of such to the headquarters, when the secretary shall notify members, if any, out of work.

These recommendations were accepted, and the committee received orders to continue.

The delegate's report, giving his labors for the week, were received and filed.

Two candidates were admitted to membership, and two others were rejected.

The new day room is No. 201 East 26th street.

Minor business filled the time.

THE SECRETARY.

voted on by all affiliated local assemblies. Same was accepted. A committee from the United Brotherhood of Tailors wished assistance for their coming affair. It was decided to take 100 tickets and put same on sale. One of the members related to us about two mass meetings held in Clarendon Hall on two consecutive Saturday afternoons for clothing cutters. At both of their meetings the ex-labor leader and now wholesale manufacturer of clothing Mr. Charles F. Reichers was present, and spoke endearingly and fatherlike to his sheep, whom he again wishes to fleece. He spoke of the chances